

REMARKS BY A CITIZEN OF EDINBURGH,

Upon a PAPER, Entituled,

*An ADDRESS to the Free Citizens of
EDINBURGH, humbly submitted to the
attentive and impartial EXAMINATION
of the BURGESSES of this CITY.*

Quod tibi fieri non vis, alteri ne feceris,

*Lingua flamma est, & mundus iniquitatis; ita inquam lingua
constituta est, inter membra nostra, maculans totam cor-
pus inflammans rotam genitura nostra, & inflammata a
gehenna. Jac. Cap. 3tio V. 6to.*



EDINBURGH:
Printed in the Year MDCCXL,



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REMARKS by a CITIZEN
of *Edinburgh*, upon a Paper,
intituled, *An Address to the*
FreeCitizens of Edinburgh, &c.



Should not have troubled either the Publick or myself, upon Account of these little Party-disputes, which are usual amongst our Citizens at this Season of the Year, and which are managed with more or less Heat and Animosity, as the Persons who happen to engage in them, are Men of cool or warm Heads; *with Discretion, Decency and Candour*, by these who are Men of Prudence, acting from sincere and honest Motives to promote the publick Good: *But* by *indirect Means*, false and little Arts, and even by personal Calumny and Detraction, on the Part of those who act from base and sordid Motives of Self-interest and private Views, who, justly apprehensive of Contradiction, which they are not able to bear, are easily led into the Transports of Passion and Party-rage. Hence it is, that the real Designs of Men are better discovered by the Means they use to accomplish them, than by their Professions, which are always specious and plausible.

It is indeed of great Importance to us, *That* the Persons chosen to be the Magistrates of our City, and of our common Council, be Men of proper Abilities, suitable to the Trust which their Fellow-Citizens repose in them ; *That* they be reputed Men of publick Spirit, who will prefer the common Interest of the City to their own : And it concerns us highly, *That* this City, and indeed every City, every County, and every Corporation in *Great Britain*, which sends Members to Parliament, should be represented *by Men* of Parts and Knowledge, by Men of Experience in Business, who have discovered their Abilities in it ; *by Men* who have just Notions of Liberty, are conversant and well acquainted with our own present happy Constitution of Government, *who* are acquainted with the World, with Men and Things, as well as Books ; *Men* who know and have extensive Views of Trade and Manufactures, as well foreign, as domestick ; *Men* of Judgment and Decernment, who can form a just Opinion of any Measure, whereby these great national Concerns of Trade and Manufacture, may be either hurt or promoted ; *by Men*, who, as far as they may be found, are capable to take a Share in any great Debate ; *Men* of Application, who, by their Attention to the Affairs of Parliament, will soon be acquainted with the Orders, Forms, and Manner of Proceeding there, a Knowledge necessary in every Member, who serves his Country with Capacity and Fidelity ; *Men* who make Conscience of their Attendance, not only upon all the Diets of Parliament, but also upon every private and select Committee, that no Bill may pass without their attentive Examination : This is more particularly a
Duty

Duty incumbent upon the Members who serve for our Country, that we may partake of the Advantage of every Bill proposed for the Benefit of the Trade, Manufactures and Œconomy or Policy of *England*, if it suits our Circumstances, by having all such Laws extended, with proper Clauses to us: But above all, our Representatives ought to be Men of publick Spirit, Men of good Morals and unblemished Characters in private Life, Men of Firmness of Mind, who are not to be biassed by Popularity, or shaken by Party-rage and noisy Clamour; Men who will steddily pursue the true and real Interests of their Country; and who, by their Behaviour in Parliament. may acquire Credit and Reputation to themselves, and reflect Honour upon those who sent them.

The People are of themselves very susceptible of Truth, when it is fairly and candidly represented to them, stript from Disguise and false Varnish; and generally can judge as well for themselves, in all Matters that concern their Interests, as those who take upon them to direct them, and who have but too often an Interest to mislead and abuse them.

Our Citizens are themselves the best Judges of the private Characters, Manners, Tempers, Capacities, natural Dispositions, and Circumstances of one another; and when we are left to ourselves, free from foreign Influence, we rarely miscarry in these great Matters, which so nearly concern our common Interest; we rarely, very rarely, make a wrong Choice of Persons to serve in publick Trust.

It must be acknowledged, That many Men manage their own Affairs with great Œconomy and Discretion, and make a very good Figure in private Life, who are nevertheless very unfit for publick Stations; but

but when we stumble upon a Choice of this Kind, the Publick suffers little by it; for when the short Time of their Administration is determined, such Men are rarely called upon again to serve in such publick Stations; whereas those Men, who by their Behaviour when in Office, discover proper Abilities and Fitness to serve the Publick, are again, when our Constitution will admit of it, chosen to serve in the same, or such like Offices of publick Trust, which they had before discharged, with Reputation and Dignity, to the Satisfaction of the Publick, and with Credit and Honour to themselves: And had we been now left to ourselves, there would have been no Use for this, or for any other Pen, upon this Subject. But

When we see foreign and undue Influence used, and unusual Measures taken; when we see Persons, who before never interested themselves upon such Occasions, now exerting themselves, with uncommon Assiduity and Keeness, to influence our Electors to be for, or against this or that Man to serve in this, or the other publick Office; when we see inflammatory Declamations, and defamatory Libels published and handed about with great Industry, to disturb the publick Peace, by putting us by the Ears, and exciting our Passions to destroy and worry one another; when private Characters are attacked by foul Declamation and Falshood; when our best Friends, those who have served us in great and publick Stations with great Fidelity, and with great Capacity and uncommon Abilities, are represented to the People as publick Enemies and Traitors; when, under the specious Pretext of Liberty, we see Measures pursued, and pursued too, with Violence, that are obviously subversive of all Liberty; when

when we see the Freedom of Elections inroached upon, and indeed totally destroyed by Corruption, the most dangerous of all Corruption, and that openly avowed and asserted with terrible Threatnings; * When we see great Names brought to screen these dangerous Proceedings, Names of Persons of the first Rank and greatest Merit, Persons to whom the united Kingdom in general, as well as this City in particular, ly under the greatest Obligations; Persons too, who by our happy Constitution are circumscribed to act within these high Spheres, proper and peculiar to their great Rank.

Can it be imagined, That Men, who have so great a Stake to lose, by the Loss of Liberty, will countenance any Measure that tends to subvert and destroy all civil Liberty; or that Men of so great Worth and Honour, Men of such signal Parts and eminent Abilities, who have a just Sense of the great Happiness we all enjoy under our present free Constitution of Government, will ever give the smallest Countenance to such indirect Means, as have an evident Tendency to destroy it.

Civil Liberty, is that Liberty which, by the Laws of human Societies, is allowed to the Individuals of doing what may reasonably be done by them

* *Address to the Free Citizens*, Page 59. If you leave the good Cause, in which you seem all along to have concurred so heartily, you will not only be pointed out as Villains; but further, yourselves and Families will be effectually ruined: *For assure yourselves, that strong Resolutions are entered into, not to employ a Man amongst you, who engages himself in Opposition to the Cause of Liberty.*

N. B. Is this the Voice of Liberty, or the Voice of interested Faction, the common Disturber of every free Government, and the Bane of all Liberty?

them in a Consistency with the Good of the Society ; and when they are constrained to submit to certain Laws and Rules calculated for the general Good, they are so far from being deprived of their Liberty, or having it impaired, that on the contrary, their just Liberties are thereby secured from the pernicious Mischiefs and Misery, which unavoidably must attend Licentiousness, or an unlimited Gratification of our natural, wild and unruly Appetites and Passions.

By Civil Government, the Properties, Persons, the Lives and Reputations of Men (which are dearer than Life) are secured to them by Laws, which are a Rule to all, and the Execution of these Laws are intrusted to civil Magistrates, who are, in every civil Society, the common Umpires and Referees to whom all and every one may appeal for the Redress of Injury and Wrong, that no Man may be judge in his own Cause : I must therefore appeal to you my Fellow Citizens, if upon such Occasions as this, *when* under the Pretence of Liberty, you see the Foundations of all civil Liberty struck at ; *when* the same Persons set up to be the Accusers, the Evidence to convict, and the Judges to condemn ; are not the Ends of Government perverted ? And all Men, the most innocent, and the most worthy Men, whom Envy and Malice intend to destroy by such Proceedings, deprived of the Protection of the Laws, and civil Liberty trampled upon and destroyed ? Can Innocence and Merit save any Man ? No, if he is obnoxious to any Faction, that thus places itself above the Law, and acts in Defiance of all Law, *Merit* and *Innocence* will prove his certain Ruin. Ought it not then, Brethren, to be our great Concern at this Time, not

to be deceived? " For, *when* we are once deceived we are soon inflamed; *when* angry, unfit to judge; *when* very angry, unfit to judge at all; and yet we are *then* most positive and most ready to judge; we are then at the Mercy of those who lead us; their blind Slaves, and fit to be their ready Tools, in all Strains of Folly and Mischief. If we are once seized with a Fever of Passion, we are no more our own Masters; those who have infected us, need only to repeat in our Ears any favourite sound, *Liberty, Trade, even Religion*, and by the mere Sound will so bewitch us, as to make us sacrifice and destroy the Substance for the Name; make us grow impious in Defence of Religion, Slaves in behalf of Liberty, vindicate Lies in pursuit of Truth, grow idle and licentious for the Interest of Trade and Industry; and ruin our private Affairs, ourselves and our Families, out of Zeal for our Wealth and Interest; when common Sense and Reason are once supplanted by Passion and Fury, crazy Men guide us by the Force of Craziness; cunning Men lead us, by abusing us; and the lowest Libellers incense us against our best Friends."

" When under such a Tumult of Spirit, the Designs of Faction get the better of our Understanding, the very lowest Tools of Faction drive and agitate us, as the Winds do the Waves, and just as passively and blindly; when we have no Eyes of our own, and all our Passions and Movements are directed and swayed by others, by the loudest, by the fiercest and falsest; we are ripe to follow any Impostor, to swallow any Lie or Contradiction, to adopt any cant

“ Word, to eccho back any Cry, and to run
 “ zealously after such as cheat us, and debauch
 “ and abuse, and even ruin and undo us.”

All this is often accomplished by wretched and contemptible Instruments, by mean Scriblers, and spiteful Defamers, by confident and bold Misrepresentations, black'ning the brightest Merit, and varnishing the blackest Characters with fair Colours, damning Truth and Sense, and deifying Madness and Folly.

These and such like Arts have ever been, and I'm afraid now are, and are ever likely to be the dangerous and fatal *Means*, whereby the bold and designing, the factious and ambitious; the *Means*, whereby all Men of strong Passions, who can brook no Disappointment, have deceived, do, and will deceive the unwary, to become Parties to their selfish and interested Schemes, and have but too often prevailed upon them to become the Tools of their own Ruin.

It is therefore submitted to you, my dear Friends and Neighbours, to consider, whether or not these bitter Invectives, these malicious defamatory Libels which have been publish'd, under the specious Titles of *Addresses* to you, are honestly and sincerely meant (as they pretend) for your Good; if you think they proceed from a good Heart, from honest and disinterested Motives to promote the real Interest and Honour of the City, and the Good of the Citizens, or if they do not in spite of all their Art to disguise their real Sentiments, plainly speak the deceitful Language of Faction? If they are not address'd to the Passions, and not to the Understanding? Are they not calculated to inflame, but not to inform? Ought we not to examine and

search

search into the Bottom to discover their real Designs, to try their Professions by their Practice? Ought we not to be wary, least by imposing upon us, by bold and confident Assertions, that we now are, and have long been in a State of base, mean and servile Dependance upon a great Man, and under ministerial Influence? Ought we not beware, I say, lest these very Men should, by such Pretences, betray us into a State of real and direct Dependance upon some great Man? What has any great, any free and independent City, such as ours is, to do with great Men? Have we any Thing to fear from the Frowns of Power? Do we stand in Need of a Protector; are not the Laws, in every free State, a sufficient Protection? Does any Corporation, or any single Man stand in Need of any other? Can any Subject, even the greatest in Power, or out of Power, protect us, or any Man against the Law? And are not the Laws of the Land a sufficient Security and Protection to all Men? And where no Man is above the Law, has any Man ought to fear but the Effects of his own Crimes and Misdemeanours? Let it never be a Question amongst us, (as it was in *Rome*, when *Anthony* and *Octavius* struggled for Power) who is to be our Master? but let us say with *Brutus* in his Letter to *Cicero* (the Great, the Excellent, the Incomparable *Brutus*) *We, said he, will have no Master, nor know any Superior but the Law, and the Law ought to be above all Men.*

Does it not then concern us highly to be wary and upon our Guard, against the Efforts of Party? There is a bewitching Spirit in it, catching and spreading like a Contagion, pushing us headlong like Men possessed; Ought we not to be cautious?

Ought we not to fly from Party-infection, as we would from a malignant and raging Fever? For these who are infected with it, fly the Sober and the Sound, fly every proper Advice, and all Remedies, they herd and converse only with one another, grow worse and worse, madder and madder, delighting to be so, traducing and inveighing against all that are not equally mad with themselves, and even against those who are not mad at all; and I must submit to you, and every sober Man amongst us, if this is not the Case of the Author of these Addresses, who asserts notorious Falshoods, as undeniable Truths, and with such Confidence, as if he believed them: He seems indeed to be so much under the Government of Passion, that I verily think he does believe them, and is angry, desperately angry, and enraged at us, who will not swallow them without Examination.

Ought we not to take Example from fatal Experience? Have not many free and independent States and Cities, by such deceitful Arts as these, been involved in Confusion and Disorder, exposed to Rapine and Bloodshed, which has sometimes terminated in an utter Extinction of all civil Liberty? Can any Man who speaks to the Passions, any Man who would inflame us, have a good Design? Has not this been the constant Method, the unvaried Practice, whereby many free States and Cities have been undone? The People are first inflamed, by the specious Cry of Patriots, the most virtuous, the most able, and the most worthy Citizens are traduced and ruined; and when these real Patrons and Guardians of publick Liberty, are removed by Death, Banishment, or by popular Rage and Fury, then the unwary and deluded Multitude, who have
been

been decoyed to make a Sacrifice of their best Friends by their worst Enemies; pay dear for their Credulity and ill-placed Confidence, when they find themselves under the Government of a violent Faction, then they discover their Error, but then 'tis too late; their Complaints then serve only to make them more miserable, by the melancholy Reflection, that they themselves have been the unhappy and deluded Instruments of their own Undoing.

The antient free States of *Greece*, and the more modern free States of *Italy*, abound with Instances of this Sort; and indeed, we have a melancholy Instance of it in our own Country; who cried so loud for Liberty in the Reign of King *Charles I.* as those very Men who artfully traduced, and (by cajoling and imposing upon the People) at last ruined and destroyed the real Patrons of Liberty, and placed themselves above all Law, and trampled upon all Liberty?

It is therefore submitted to your cool and serious Consideration, my good Friends and Neighbours, Whether these Addresses are calculated to inform, or to inflame the People, and to increase their Disatisfaction with every publick Measure, whether right or wrong? If they have not (at least) the Appearance of the Seeds of Sedition and Dissaffection, plainly intended to alienate our Affections from the present Administration, and to endanger our happy free Constitution? If they are not calculated to create civil Discord and Dissention amongst us Citizens, to disturb our Peace and Tranquility, to sour and imbitter us against one another, by representing us as Enemies and Betrayers of one another, to destroy that social Love, Friendship, Harmony,

mony and good Neighbourhood, upon which our Peace, Happiness and social Comfort depends?

These Papers set out with loud Complaints of Maladministration and Mismanagements, of ministerial Blunders, ministerial Corruption, ministerial Influence, &c. for no less than 20 Years together, whereby the Nation is said to be ruined and undone; and indeed, had this heavy Charge been true in any Degree, we must have been undone in much less Time than 20 Years; had those now at the Helm of publick Affairs been so weak, and so very wicked as this and such other Libellers, have represented them to be, I think it is morally impossible for them, or for any Men (such as by the loud Cries of Faction they have been called) to have continued one Year, much less 20 Years in the Administration.

It is very difficult for us to form any just Opinions of the Conduct of Men acting in those high Stations: Overt Acts all Men may know; but the real Springs and Motives of these Actions, rarely are, rarely ought, ever to be known; and by these alone, compared with the Situation and Circumstances of Affairs, at the Time when any Measure is taken, is the Goodness or Badness, the Wisdom or Weakness of any Measure to be determined; neither are the just and real Characters of Men acting in high Stations, usually well known during their natural Lives, at least during their Administration, their Actions and Motives being for the most Part represented to us in false Colours, either thro' a magnifying Glass, highly exaggerated, by Fawning, Flattery, and sullen Panegyrick, or reflected thro' the false Medium of Envy or Malice, whereby

whereby the most commendable Actions are represented as the blackest Crimes.

The Characters of such Men, are best known, when they are retired, banished or dead ; their Credit, which while they lived and acted, was crushed with the violent Weight of Opposition, and blackned by continual Slander and Libels, are then revived ; and he who was the most decryed Minister in his own Time, may be quoted and applauded in future Times, as a Pattern to all Ministers.

This was the Lot of the great Lord *Burleigh*, the honest *Clarendon*, and of the last great and excellent Minister, the Lord *Godolphin*.

No Ministers were more run down than these once were, none ever more violently opposed, or more the Butt of bitter Libels, and popular Reproach ; but soon after their Death, the Humour of Detraction and Slander against them began to subside, and their own Innocence and Merit at last retrieved to these Ministers their true Characters ; and all Parties, even those who agree in little else, agree now in praising them. Lord *Burleigh* is not now abused, nor so much as blamed for having acquired a great Estate, tho' it seems it answers a Purpose, to extol Lord *Godolphin* for neglecting it. Should we not then, in Justice to ourselves, and to all Men, remember how these great Men were abused ; ought we not to take Warning, and not be over-hasty to judge and censure living Ministers, whose Cause, whose Characters and Abilities, may (for ought we can with Truth and Certainty know) be as good as theirs ; and let us beware of being ever led by popular Clamour, that is raised by the fierce Declamations of Libellers. But

Our Addresser is not satisfied with defaming the Ministers only. The whole Legislature, (if the Legislature consists in a Majority of the Members of both Houses of Parliament, as, I believe, he and all Men will agree with me that it does) meet with no better Treatment from him; nay with worse, he calls them, *P. 7.* "A List of V-ers, &c. Men " of such a Stamp, that would not scruple to vote " us, like a conquered People, to pay Tribute to " any Monarch under the Sun, provided their " Assent was only purchased by a large Hire."

One would have thought, that such heavy Accusations, would have been supported with some Colour of Evidence; but it is enough with our Author, that he himself believes, or appears to believe, that every Thing he is pleased to assert with Confidence is true; and he imagines, that we believe them as well as he, because, perhaps, such Things have been before said in the *Craftsmen, Common Sense*, and such like defamatory Libels, and are indeed sufficient Evidence with the prejudiced and prepossessed.

Incendiaries need prove nothing; they need only to aver and misrepresent confidently. Be their Assertions ever so bold and strange, be their Misrepresentations ever so monstrous, there will be always some, indeed often too many, ready to believe them, and to take all they say for true, and to be set forth with Candour.

It requires great Ingenuity and Probity to lead and direct the Vulgar, under which Name, all the Ignorant and ill informed, of whatever Quality or Station, are comprehended, partial Men, heated by *Passion, Disgust, or Disappointment*, are of all others the

the most unfit for this Task ; and yet such are the Men who generally undertake it.

Thus the Multitude, instead of being well and justly informed, are generally grossly misled and abused, so as not to perceive the plainest Truth on one Side, and yet to believe the most incredible Falshood on the other ; whilst they are obstinately blind under such Delusion, following implicitly, and railing at random ; they then imagine and presume that they see most clearly, and that they judge most fairly : Are they, in such a Situation, fit to judge of any Matter of State, when they are already prepossessed against it ?

Was not this evident from the Opinions of all, who were under the Influence of Party-prepossession, with regard to the late Convention so much decried ? Was it not much more censured and condemned before any one knew what it contained, than after it was published to the World ? For till then, every one, thus prepossessed, was like our Author, at Liberty to imagine it to be what he pleased, and to pronounce Sentence accordingly. But

I shall meddle no farther with Matters that are beyond my Reach, than to make this one short Observation, That it is a most wicked Thing, in any Man, to praise or condemn publick Measures, not for being good or bad, but merely as they are espoused or opposed by this Man or t^other. This is a terrible Spirit, and has as bad a Tendency : For then the Contention is not for saving or serving the Publick, but for being Masters of the Publick, by opposing and crushing, or for advancing particular Persons.

Our Addressee seems to satisfy himself, and has, no doubt, satisfied others, who are as deeply engaged in the Party, who avowedly state themselves in Opposition to the present Administration, and to every publick Measure, good or bad, that is taken by those in it; and who are as thoroughly prejudiced and prepossessed in Favours of the Party, as he seems to be himself; that he has fully proved all his Accusations by his bold and confident Assertions: For I do not observe, that he offers any other Kind of Evidence; he not only takes it for granted, that our Liberties are in danger of being lost, and our happy Constitution of being subverted, by ministerial Influence, by Corruption and slavish Compliance, &c. But goes even farther, and proves by his own Assertion, that our Liberties are already lost, and our Constitution already destroyed; thus the smooth Face of the Law (says he) appears, but underneath it the most detestable Tyranny. This is very contrary to Mr. *Lock's* Definition of Tyranny, and is indeed directly contrary to the Idea that all Mankind have of it. Tyranny (says Mr. *Lock*) begins where the Law ends; and surely no two Opposites on the Earth are more incompatible than Law and Tyranny. I admit, that both Law and Liberty may be abused; and I submit to you, if our Author, by his Addressee, has not fully proved this Abuse upon himself.

After our Author, in his fair Way of Trial, has condemned the Minister, and the whole Legislature, (at least the Majority of it) and pronounced Sentence upon them as Traitors and Enemies to the Publick; he then attempts to blacken and destroy the Character (so far as a Character can be hurt by Calumny and Slander) of a Person of high Rank

Rank and Station; a Person no less remarkably eminent for his great Genius, his great natural Endowments, great Abilities, and shining Accomplishments, than he is by his Birth: But such Characters as his is, are secure, and removed far beyond the Reach of all such impotent Malice.

All Envy and Malice is founded upon a confessed Want of Worth in the envious and malicious; Persons of great Ambition and little Merit cannot come up to the Height of those who excell them in every good and great Quality; they therefore gratify their own Pride and Vanity, in attempting to bring down, by the base and unfair Means of Calumny and Detraction, the exalted Character of the most deserving.

When our Author has, in his own Imagination, made this great Man's Character as black as he (no doubt) wishes it to be, he is then pleased to inveigh against him with great Bitterness; and to represent him as an Enemy, as the worst Enemy to this City; altho' those of the better Sort of our Inhabitants have always been of Opinion, that this great Man (whom he calls a jobbing P — r) and all his Family, always were, and still are the best Friends that ever this City found in any Subjects whatsoever; then taking all these for *data*, and as granted, that this Man is our open and professed Enemy, he labours, with great Earnestness, to convince us, that he is, of all others, the most unfit Man to direct us, or to be trusted by us. In this I agree with him, because I carry this Point a little further than perhaps our Author and his Party think fit (in Consistency with the present Schemes which they have formed to withdraw us from our present State of Independency) to agree

to. I hope, every Man, who has the Honour and reall Interest of this City at Heart, is of the same Opinion with me, that if we would preserve our Independency and Freedom of Elections from every foreign, from every undue Influence, we ought to take our Directions from no Man, be he ever so great, that in those Matters we ought to put Trust in no Man, who may have any Interest different from ours, or whose Interest may, in some Events, be inconsistent with ours; and that we ought to trust our own Reason only: Reason, weak and fallible as it is, is the best Guide we can have; others may have an Interest in deceiving us, but surely we can have none in deceiving ourselves. And it must be submitted to you, Fellow Citizens, Whether Persons of such a Temper and Disposition as our Author seems to be in at present, Persons of strong and violent Passions, who are so palpably prepossessed with Party-prejudice, are not, of all Men, the most unfit to direct us, and of all Men the least to be trusted.

Warm and passionate Councils, always produce rash and violent Measures; and rash Measures are ever dangerous, too often fatally so.

It is to me a little surprising, that this Addresser, who takes upon him with so much Freedom to advise and direct us, in those Matters of the greatest Weight and Moment, to inform us of the original Model of Government, and fundamental Plan contrived by our Ancestors, for securing Liberty to themselves and to us, and of the vile Means and destructive Measures taken by those in the present Administration to subvert it, should himself be so very ill informed in these Matters, as to be ignorant of these publick Laws, (now an essential Part of

of our Constitution) that have been long since made to secure it ; those Laws of Limitation that have, with great Wisdom and Forecast, been contrived by our Ancestors, to secure the Freedom and Independency of Parliament, from all undue Influence of the Crown ; and to prevent and guard them from those very Dangers, that are now so loudly sounded in our Ears by this Author and his Party to alarm us ; Dangers, which before the passing of these Acts were real ; but now, we hope, they are only imaginary and feigned, with a View to terrify us with imaginary Danger, to mislead us into some rash Measure, that may plunge us into real Danger ; a Measure, that by its fatal Consequences, may in Time give such a Blow to our Constitution, as may by its Effects totally subvert and destroy it, by destroying that just Balance and Equilibrium of Power, now wisely establish'd, for securing the Prerogative of the Crown, and the Rights of the People ; upon the Preservation whereof, our present and future Happiness and Security so much depends ; for our Author is pleased to assert, and to assert it roundly, as a Fact not to be controverted. *Page 8th*, his Words are ;

“ That the only Reason to which that Evil is to
 “ be ascribed, (speaking of the Danger of a mini-
 “ sterial Influence) is the exorbitant Number of
 “ Pl—men in the House of Co—ns ; the prime
 “ Mi—ster erects Places at Pleasure, and every
 “ Place is the Price of a Man's Conscience,”
 (well asserted, and as well proved) “ By this
 “ Means he secures to himself an undoubted Ma-
 “ jority, and Conventions, Pl—men, Taxes, &c.
 “ are pin'd down by Law on an oppressed People.”
 I wish he had also told us where this Law is to be
 found.

Does

Does he not know what Kind of Office-bearers are excluded, that all those, upon whom the Crown or the Ministers of State could be supposed to have any Influence, have been long since disabled from sitting in Parliament, by the Act for Limitation of the Crown, *Charles II.* and by the Statutes 12th and 13th of King *William III.* And does he not know, that by the latest Statute upon this Subject, Statute 4th and 5th *Anne*, it is amongst other Things provided and enacted, “ That no Person’s “ enjoying any Pension from the Crown, or pos- “ sessed any Place or Imployment, that shall be “ created after the passing of that Act,) shall be cap- “ able of having a Seat in Parliament.” How well then does he prove this criminal Accusation, The prime Mi——ster creates Pl——es at Pleasure, and every Place is the Price of a Man’s Conscience? Does our Author really know nothing of these Laws? Or does he rely so much upon our Ignorance and Credulity, and upon his own Skill, in proving (by a bold Assertion) whatever he pleases to prove, to mislead us into those Snares, which his Party may have laid to catch us? Can we look upon this in any other Light, than as some Party-device to abuse us? A *factious Cry*, not unlike that *senseless Cry* that was raised by a most pernicious Faction, towards the latter End of the Reign of Queen *Anne*, *The Church in Danger*, at a Time when it was never less in Danger; and yet the whole Nation was so much deluded, I may say bewitched and infatuated, by that imaginary Danger, that they ran Headlong upon their own Ruin, by ruining the best and the ablest Ministers that ever served the Crown.

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By this Party-Engine, the Leaders of that Faction got themselves into Power ; and we may all remember in what Manner they used, or rather abused Power ; we may remember the Laws that passed under their Administration to restrain Liberty of Conscience, and which struck at the civil Liberties of all Men, that did not list in the Party ; That great and useful Body of Men, the Dissenters in *England*, felt the heavy Weight of their oppressive Hand.

Had this been all the Mischief they did, we should have had but small Reason to complain ; because all those Grievances and illegal Wrongs were redrest by the succeeding Administration, when the People had Time to cool, when they became sensible of their Error by the Effects of it, and returned again to the Use of their Reason ; but alas, how sensibly do we feel the Smart of that deadly Blow they gave to our National Wealth and Power, when to secure themselves in the Possession of Power thus artfully acquired by Party-craft, they put a shameful End to the most glorious and the most successful War that ever this Nation was engaged in, by an inglorious and most disadvantageous Peace ; a Peace that at once robbed us of all the Fruits we should have reaped by those Victories purchased at an immense Expence of national Blood and Treasure. Victories, which, if rightly improved, might have secured to us, and to latest Posterity, national Wealth and Power, and Security to the Nation from every foreign Insult ; these are the Fruits we should have reaped ; these the national Advantages we should in all human Probability have gained by that War, had we been wise enough to have allowed these able and faithful Ministers
who

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who began it, to have brought it to a Conclusion : But by the fatal Effects of the Engines of Faction, upon our own Credulity, all our just Hopes and Expectations were blasted ; and shall we allow ourselves to be again dup'd and deceived by Party-deceit of a like Nature ? Is not the Ring-leader of that Faction, that publick Traitor †, a true Party-man, neither to be bound or obliged by any Ties of Honour or Gratitude, the most busy of all Men, at the Head of the present Opposition ? Shall we be again misled by those very Men ; or by any Man, however worthy and deserving, if they are angry, heated by Disgust or Disappointment, and acted by Passion, Prepossession or Prejudice.

This was no Convention, no Preliminary, in order to a definitive Treaty, but a Treaty finished and concluded ; the true and real Cause of all these national Ills, we ever since with great Reason complained of ; the genuine Source, from whence most of the Differences we have since had with other Nations have flowed ; the fatal Effects of this Treaty are too universally felt, as well as known, to need to be longer insisted upon.

The next Topick our Author is pleased to declaim from, is the Constitution of the City of *London*, which according to his Account of it, “ Is “ secured against the Attempts of designing Magistrates, and in that Respect highly preferable “ to ours, &c.” Here he shows as little Knowledge of political Constitutions of our two Metropolitan Cities, as he does of our present happy and well framed Constitution of Government ; our common Council consists indeed of no more than

† Lord B ———— *ke.*

Thirty three Members, but above one Half of that Number, must, by our Constitution, be changed and removed from the Council every Year. In *London* there are no Magistrates, but Twenty six Aldermen, who are all for Life, and the Lord Mayor (indeed annually chosen, but out of the Body of Aldermen;) the Court of Aldermen is a permanent Body that is never changed, and it has a Negative upon the Common Council, and none of these Magistrates, when a Vacancy happens, are chosen by the Common Council. It is true, that the common Council-men of each Ward are annually chosen by the Livery-men of the Ward: But it is no less true, that in Fact these are rarely or never changed. Had our Author been acquainted with the Circumstances of the Citizens of *London*, he would have known this, and the Reason why it is so.

Those great Magistrates, the Aldermen of *London*, consist of the greatest, the most eminent, and the most wealthy Citizens, Men of the most extensive Trade, remarkable for Experience in Business; but the Common Council Men, are Persons of a very different Character; these are for the most Part Tradesmen of a lower Rank: And as the Office is attended with no Power, and with too great Avocations from one's private Business, the most considerable Dealers in every Ward, are at great Pains to avoid being chosen; and the same Persons who have a Turn for Clubs and Cabals, are almost always continued.

The Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, and Members of Parliament are chosen by a Poll of the whole Livery-men; but by far the greater Number of the Inhabitants, and those too, the most considerable Dealers,

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are never upon the Livery : So little do the wise Citizens of *London*, who prefer Industry and Affiduity in the Management of their private Affairs, to State Politicks, so foreign to their Purpose of Life ; incline to be concerned in the Government of the City.

Our Author says, *Page 11th*, That ninety-nine, of every hundred, are amongst us pickt out as unfit ; and for what ? because they are too honest, &c. This, *Page 15th*. He calls an Exclusion from Places of Honour and Profit, altho' none of us ever heard of an Office of Profit in the Council, unless he reckons the Allowance made to our Lord Provost, for his extraordinary Expence, during his Continuance in Office, a Place of Profit ; we all know, that every other Office of Magistracy is attended with Expence, with great Trouble, with great Avocations from private Business, and with certain Loss to one in his private Affairs ; and afterwards he says, " This Exclusion is equal to Pro-
" scription and Banishment."

Had this Gentleman, who takes upon him to inform us in those Matters, been rightly informed, himself, he would not have said to us (at least) that ninety-nine, of every hundred, were, in his Sense, excluded : For if he had compared the List who now are, and have been Magistrates and Members of our Council, with the List of the Burgeses at large, and if he takes from that List all the Dealers of the lowest Form, who are, in the Opinion of all Mankind, unequal to any such Office of publick Trust ; and takes also from that List some of the first Rank of Burgeses, who, from a Prejudice of Education (for I can impute it to nothing else) are disqualified from serving in those
Offices,

Offices, by their not qualifying to the Government :
 And here I cannot but regret the Loss our City
 suffers for want of the Assistance of such Men to
 serve in these publick Offices of Trust, who are
 Men of fair Characters, considerable Traders, Men of
 great Experience and Abilities for publick Business,
 Men of great Probity and Integrity, but necessa-
 rily set aside, from a Scruple of *Conscience, which ought*
not, nor cannot be forced. If we likewise take from that
 List several great Dealers, who wisely, with regard
 to the personal Interest of themselves and Families,
 decline serving in any publick Office of Trust, that
 may divert them from their Industry and Assiduity,
 in the Prosecution and Management of their pri-
 vate Affairs; and then let him compare the List
 with the other, and he will find, that instead of
 99 of every 100, there are not 15 of every 20,
 who are not, or have not been Magistrates, or of
 our common Council; and let him compare the
 Aldermen of *London*, and the List of those who now
 are, or ever have been Members of the Common
 Council of *London*, and he will find, that of every
 1000 of the Citizens of *London*, at least 990 are,
 in his Sense, excluded from Offices of publick Trust:
 And yet they are so far from considering this in the
 terrible Light, that our Author does, as equal to
 Banishment or Proscription, that they think it (as
 many, but too many of our Citizens do) a Hap-
 piness to be freed from those publick Offices, which
 are attended with so so much Trouble and Avoca-
 tion from private Business.

Our Author goes on to press us with great Ear-
 nestness to follow the Example of the City of
London, and proposes the Conduct of the Citizens
 of *London* as a Pattern for our Imitation. Does

he imagine, that we are so much Strangers to the World, and to the common Affairs of Life, as not to know, that the Tools of Faction carry on its pernicious Designs, by the same Means every where? And if Party-Intrigues are at *London* conducted with less Heat and Rancour than here; yet they are managed with much more Skill and Address? Do we not know that the Designs of Faction always make their first Appearance nearest to the Scene of Action; and that every Party-Cry was first raised in *London*, and then sounded loudly thro' the Land, by the uncertain Voice of common Fame, as the Voice of the City of *London*? Was not that foolish Cry, that produced so much Mischief; *The Church in danger*, first raised at *London*? and the bold and designing Faction, always regardless of Truth, past it as the Voice of *London*, and thereby the whole Nation was deceived and infatuated, by the Authority, by the Example, and by the Influence of *London*. Just so our Author would now pass upon us a factious Cry, *The State in danger*, a Cry that plainly speaks the Voice of Faction, as the unanimous Voice of the City of *London*, of whom the far greater and better Part never interested themselves in Party-Matters; those Men are too wise, their Time is much better employed in honest Industry; the only Means whereby private Wealth, which is the Source of all publick Wealth and national Power, is acquired; such Men will never countenance any Measure to distress a Government, whereby private Property, which is the Fruit of Industry, is so absolutely well secured.

How inconsistent is our Author with himself? He first labours with great Anxiety to determine us to preserve our Independency; and I hope we shall

never

never be so far misled, never so grossly abused or infatuated, by any Skill or Party-Craft and Contrivance, be it ever so well disguised, as to be made the Tools to undo ourselves in parting with it, or giving it up into any Hands whatsoever. He is at great Pains to persuade us to take no foreign Advice, no foreign Directions, especially from one Person (who, I am afraid, he suspects has sometime or other given us Advice, that has defeated his Favourite Party-Schemes, *hinc illæ lacrymæ*) and then with the very same Breath, is pleased to exhort us with no less Earnestness, in a Manner to give up our Independency, by giving up our Right to private Judgment, by giving up the Use and Exercise of our Reason, and presses us to take our Directions from, we don't know whom, to frame our Measures by an Example, we do not know what, from vague and uncertain Reports, publish'd in News Papers, and in factious and defamatory Libels.

Ought Men, in a State of Freedom and Independency, Men of Common Sense and Reason, to form their Notions, or take their Measures from the Authority or Opinions of others? Ought not every Measure to stand upon its own Legs, to be examined and tried by its own Merit, and to be approved or rejected, as it appears upon a fair and impartial Discussion, to be good or bad in itself? Or ought we for once to gratify our Author's peevish Humour? and because he desires it, shall we give up the free Use and Exercise of our rational Faculties, to follow blindly and implicitly the Opinions of News Writers, and such like Publishers of publick Slander? Is this to be free? Is this to be independent? Does this Suit with the Character
of

of any Man of common Sense, or common Honesty?

Our Author, to induce us to follow his Directions in those Matters, tells us, *P. 23.* " That they " (the Citizens of *London*) set a noble Example to " the rest of the Nation, and immediately began " to reform themselves, &c." I suppose he means, that Reformation which was so highly extolled in one of the Papers, intituled, *Common Sense*, and recommended there as a Pattern to the Legislature, a Reformation indeed highly laudable, had it taken Effect; but to the great Dishonour of the C——n C——l (now existing of a Set of Men, whose Example our Author would have us to follow in all Things) it miscarried most shamefully; The Case was, (seeing our Author touches it so very slightly) That the present C——g C——r, had in Concert with several other Tradesmen, M——rs of the C——n C——l, entered into a Combination to enrich themselves at the publick Expence of the City, by making a Jobb of that great Work now carrying on, *the Lord Mayor's House*. This Combination was detected; and altho' these J——rs were supported by a great Majority in the C——n C——l, yet so very black and criminal did their Designs appear to be in the Eyes of all Men, that none of their Friends had the Assurance to say one Word in their Justification; and in order to prevent the bad Effects of such vile and interested Practices for the future, a Motion was made, and unanimously agreed to, to prepare and bring in a Bill, to disable every Member of the Common Council from being imployed, or any Ways concerned in this, or any other publick Works carried on at the City's Expence; and twelve Persons were

accor-

accordingly named, to prepare and bring in this Bill ; But what was the Issue ? After several Delays the Bill was at last brought in, and read a first and second Time ; and when the Question was put to commit it, that Question (to the Astonishment of every honest Man) pass'd in the Negative, without any Debate, by a great Majority, and Seven of the Twelve, who brought it in, were of that Number.

No Man had Occasion to open his Mouth, in favour of a Measure in itself so just and Praise-worthy ; nor could any honest Man harbour in his own Breast the least Suspicion, that so many Persons, who, by their Silence, seem'd to join in the general Approbation of a Measure so highly commendable, and so well calculated to secure the publick Treasure of the City from private Spoils, would by their negative Voice have defeated it.

Is this the Reformation our Author proposes as a Pattern for our Imitation ? Are these likely to be the Men, who are to purge their Councils from interested Dependants, Jobbers and Place-men ?

Then our Author goes on to tell us, the City of *London* went so far, as to set aside a Gentleman, whose Turn it was to have the Chair, for no other Reason, but on Account of his being a *Conventioner* (and we shall examine by and by, how far this Word ought to be used, in our Author's Sense, as our Epithet of Disgrace and Infamy) but does he know the real Motives, the true Reasons, that induced the Livery-men to this Measure ? If he had, and had it been for his Purpose to speak them out, he might have told us, that was the smallest Reason ; but in those Parts, Persons are more tender of private Characters, than our Author seems to be ; therefore all this seems to be only designed by our Author,

Author, to pave his Way to his main Point in View ; to labour the grand Design of the Party ; to determine us to compliment them with our Voices, to chuse for our Representative in the next Parliament some Person more for the Purposes of Party, than our present Member is, whom, in due Time, some great Man (I suppose) is to name for us, to satisfy the World, that they have brought us into a State of Freedom and Independence.

It is now about 30 Years ago since the Nation was dup'd, by the Cry of a Party, when so many Corporations over the whole Island were misled, by the pernicious Example then set them by the great City of *London* ; to chuse such Members to serve in Parliament, as would, in all Likelihood, have compleated our Ruin, had not Providence interposed to deliver us from the threatened Destruction, by the Accession of the present Royal Family, under whose auspicious Government, our Civil and Sacred Rights, our Laws and Liberties, and every Thing that is near and dear to us, as Men and Christians, are effectually secured to us ; And are we again to listen to the *Syren's* Voice ? Are we to expect better Treatment from the Faction now, than we met with from its Predecessors ? Can the Leopard change his Spots, or the Blackamoor his Colour, &c ? Let them but once get into Power, then 'twill be too late to say we have been deceived, we may then complain, but all such Complaints will be in vain. But

I hope the Temper of these Times is not yet so bad, as was the Temper of the Times in the Year 1710, where the whole Nation seemed to be in a Calenture : Should we allow ourselves to be workt up into such another Ferment, where is Reason ?

or what is that boasted Characteristick of Humanity, when People run mad, and by their Actions proclaim, that they have none? People incensed, and under the Influence of Passion, deal in Antipathies, and are governed by them: Whatever they judge will grieve their supposed Enemies, they will do at the Risk of their own Destruction, and so run headlong into Slavery, full and loud with the Cry of Liberty. This is a most melancholly Reflection, how easily Men are thrown into a Rage, and then how readily into civil Wars, which commonly end in eternal Chains. This was our Fate 100 Years ago, when the Nation was seized with Madness of various Kinds. It must indeed be admitted, that then we had Reason to take Arms in Defence of Law and Liberty; but now we have none; and if our present Ferment shall be proportioned to the Cause of it, it must subside without any National Prejudice. How happy would it be for the World, if Men were as easily informed, as they are infatuated?

In 1710, the Party cry, *The Church in Danger*, was of itself sufficient to hurry us on to be subservient to all the Designs of the Party, to vest them with a Power to undo us: For I do not remember, that any private Characters were then attack'd to carry their Ends; but our Author seems to be diffident, that the Cry now raised of *the Danger of the State*, is too ill founded to work any such Effect upon us; he therefore to induce us to follow him Blindfold to promote the Designs of the Party, takes the Liberty to lay upon our present worthy Member, such a heavy Load of Infamy and Reproach, and to charge upon him a Conduct so very criminal, that were half of his Accusa-

tions true, I should not only agree with him, that this Gentleman ought never again to be chosen to represent us in Parliament, or to any Office of publick Trust; but that he should also be banished all civil Society; and indeed our Author seems to mean no less, for he has used this Gentleman, as the Quaker did his Neighbour's Dog, "I'll do thee no Harm Friend (said the Quaker) but I'll give thee a bad Name; and crying out to the People, to beware of that mad Dog; he hounded out the Mob upon him, who stoned the poor harmless Cur to Death."

Surely our Author must have a very mean Opinion of our Understanding, yet a worse of our Honesty and Sense of Gratitude; if he imagines he can destroy a Character so firmly established as this Gentleman's is, by bold and confident Assertions only. Did he not serve us for near 15 Years together, with very little Interruption in all the Offices of Magistracy? And did he not in every publick Station of Life acquit himself like an able and honest Man, much to his own Honour, and to the general Satisfaction and Good-liking of all our Inhabitants, which most justly procured him universal Esteem? Can we forget that signal Service he did us in *April 1725*, when in the Absence of our then worthy Lord Provost, who was attending the Service of Parliament; this Gentleman happening then to be eldest Magistrate? Can we forget his Behaviour on that Occasion of Danger, with what Firmness, and what Intrepidity and Resolution, and uncommon Presence of Mind, he suppressed a most dreadful Tumult, that threatened our Lives and Properties with Destruction; and at the same Time conducted himself with so much

much Prudence and Humanity, that the City was saved, and the Danger prevented without any Bloodshed, and by a few, very few, smart but necessary Examples of Severity seasonably made, the City was soon (I think in three Days) restored to perfect Peace and Tranquillity? Nor was this Gentleman's Behaviour less conspicuous upon another Occasion of a very different Nature from this.

Soon after he was promoted to the highest Honour, which we can confer upon any Citizen; the Security of our Properties made it necessary to revive the Exercise of the Office of High Sheriff. Did not this Gentleman, acting in that Sphere in two several Trials of two notorious House-breakers, Trials that were long, and attended with much Difficulty and great Intricacy; acquit himself more like a Person bred to, and experienced in the Law, more like one who had been accustomed to preside in a High Court of Justice, than a private Citizen of his Rank and Education? Was I to take Notice of this Gentleman's Conduct in every Station of publick Life, wherein he has served this City with great Fidelity, I might swell these *Remarks* to the Size of a Volume; I shall therefore make but one Observation, which consists with the Knowledge of all those who served along with that Gentleman in the Office of Magistracy or Counsellors, That his Abilities appeared upon every Occasion to be equal, and even superior to every Task that fell to his Share in any publick Station. And does our Author imagine, that a Character so well establish'd, upon long and certain Experience, is to be destroyed by *Calumny* and *Party-Clamour*? But,

I shall nevertheless agree with our Author, that no past Services, or former Merit, ought to be brought

brought to the Scale, to counterballance, or even to alleviate any subsequent Crime. If any Person should, by his great Abilities, even save any great City or State from Ruin, and should afterwards use the Credit and Popularity he had thereby acquired, for betraying that City, all his former Services ought to be cancelled; he ought to be fairly tried, judged and punished, in Proportion to the Degree of his Crimes, without the least Regard to his former Merit; but then, he ought to have a fair Trial; and let us without Passion, Prejudice or Prepossession, do by this Gentleman, as we would have others do by us; I say, let him have a fair and impartial Trial, without Feud or Favour; let his Conduct be strictly examined, that we may see with our Eyes open, if this Indictment, that is publish'd against him, has any Foundation in Truth; and then let us give Judgment accordingly.

The first Article of our Author's Impeachment, in the Order he has been pleased to lay them, is, That he is not only a *Conventioner* and *Place-man*, but one who studiously, and with a most premeditate Malice, endeavoured to shew our Merchant-Company in a Light, ridiculous and absurd, &c. Before I go further, I do not believe our Author, or any Man, thinks it a Crime in any Person to hold a Place, especially, if he be a Person of proper Abilities to discharge the Trust reposed in him by such a Place; for if this were a Crime, then all and every one of the Heads and Leaders of his Party have been Criminals; but we all know, that this Part of the Charge, irrelevant as it is, to infer any Censure upon any Man, is false as to this Gentleman, who neither has, nor ever had any Place from the Government; I suppose, our Au-
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that does not mean, his being one of the Trustees for improving our National Manufactures, as a Place ; it is a Place of Trust indeed, and a Place attended with a good deal of Trouble, but with no Profit ; and a Place wherein this Gentleman has done very great and good Service to his Country ; and we all know, that this is the only Place he now has, or ever had ; but he goes on with the Charge of this Gentleman's Misconduct and Abuse of his own Brethren of our Merchant-Company, from P. 24. to P. 25, where he says, " When he presented their Petition, he introduced it with a Discourse, in which he informed the House, that it was illegal, and no Deed of the Merchant-Company of *Edinburgh*, and that no Regard ought on that Account to be shewn it."

This Gentleman has been very much abused, by a gross and false Misrepresentation of his Conduct in this Matter ; I have therefore, in common Justice, which every one of us owes to our Neighbour, been at Pains to inform myself of the real Truth, as fully, and with as much Accuracy as possibly I could ; and altho' this Affair was not transacted in a Corner, but in a very full House, yet I found some Difficulty to be rightly informed. It seems, Petitions (which always pass in Course, unless some Debate arise upon them) are but too little minded by the Members ; several told me, that there was such a Noise in the House, that they did not hear what our Member said, others, that they did ; but as nothing extraordinary had been said, or any Debate on it, they remembered it no farther ; but those who attended to it, from whom I had the following Account, agreed in the Relation I now give you of it.

It seems our Member's direct and immediate Constituents, advised him by an Express, that this Petition had been agreed to, at a meeting of the Merchant-Company, and that two Copies of it had been sent to the two honourable Persons our Author is pleased to name, and they also sent him a Copy of the original Charter of the Company, with an Excerpt of that Part, which directs, that every Deed of the Company shall be signified by their Seal, and by the Subscriptions of their Master, of Seven or more of their Assistants, and of their Clerk, and advised him to take particular Notice of this, and he would see it was signed by the Master only.

Soon after this, a Gentleman from the City delivered a third Copy of this Petition to our Member in the Court of Requests, just as the House was meeting, and he, without Hesitation, immediately waited upon the other Gentlemen, and settled with them the Time and Manner of presenting it; and as soon as the House was full, our Member moved the Petition, and in his opening, which our Author calls a Discourse, a Duty incumbent upon every Member who offers a Petition; to open to the House, in the best Manner he can, the Subject-Matter of the Petition, and the Concern of the Petitioners to interest themselves in it; our Member having fully explained the Subject-Matter, *viz.* a Complaint of the late Convention with *Spain*, as prejudicial to Trade, &c. He acquainted the House, that the Petitioners were an incorporated Body of Merchants, Dealers in wearing-Apparel, &c. constituted by a Charter under the Great Seal, and ratified in Parliament; that by their Charter every Deed of the Company ought

to be signified by their Seal, and by the Subscriptions of their Master, of seven of their Assistants, (who are 12 in Number) and by the Subscription of their Clerk, that he observed this Petition was only signed by the Master, and one other Person, who was not their Clerk: But, at the same Time, he acquainted the House, that he was well acquainted with the Hand-writing and Subscription of the honourable Gentleman who signed it, that he knew him to be then Master; that their Clerk was then in his Way to *London* to attend an Appeal; that he knew the Seal affixed to it, to be the Company's Seal: And as this was no material Defect, but merely (he supposed) an Omission through Inadvertancy, he hoped the House would dispence with this Informality, and allow him to bring up the Petition, and it was accordingly brought up, read and referred, &c. This (by the best Information can be got) was all that past in this Matter; and it is submitted to you Gentlemen, if the Merchant-Company, or any Citizen of *Edinburgh* have any Cause to be offended with our Member for his Behaviour in this Affair; those who sent him Advice of it by Express, may have some Cause to take it amiss, that he should supply, *ex proprio motu*, a Defect, as a mere Informality, which possibly they might have thought was material: But surely he deserves Thanks from the Merchant-Company, for setting to rights, that which our Author calls a Mistake of a blundering Clerk: But what most plainly puts it beyond all Kind of Doubt, that the malicious Stories reported of this Gentleman, must be false, is, that if he, as our Author asserts p. 24. represented the Merchant-Company as a Mob, a Sett of Men, he knew not who, as a Sett of Merchants

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so stupidly ignorant, as not to know common Sense ; would not one or other of these two honourable Gentlemen who seconded his Motion have contradicted him ? Would they not have taken some Notice to the House of such Expressions so very indecent ? Or, could he offer to the House, as a Deed of the Merchant-Company, a Petition, which he, at the same Time, informed them, as our Author asserts *p. 35*, was no Deed of the Merchant-Company of *Edinburgh* ? How contradictory to Truth and Common Sense are these inconsistent Assertions, forged by Malice to hurt Innocence ? Had not this Gentleman done his Duty upon this Occasion, had he dropt any Expression that had the remotest Tendency to reflect on the Petitioners, or upon a Petition which he himself presented, there were Numbers enough present, who having interested themselves very warmly in the Subject-matter of the Petition, would not have allowed such Expressions to pass without some Observation : And, I think, I never heard it so much as alleged, that any Member opened his Mouth upon this Affair, further than in seconding the Motion, which our own Member had made, for being allowed Liberty to bring up the Petition : It is submitted to you then, Gentlemen, to consider, how far this Article of our Author's Indictment is proved, to infer that wild Censure he concludes from it *p. 35 and 36*.

The other Articles of Accusation, altho' blended together by our Author, yet being of different Kinds, ought to be separately examined, that we may determine with the greater Certainty, whether this Gentleman ought to be blamed or praised by us. Whether his Conduct deserves Approbation or Censure. For he stands accused of a criminal

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nal Behaviour in Parliament, both with Regard to his Duty to his Country in general, and with Regard to his Duty to this City in particular.

Our Author admits, that for several Years, no Man had a fairer Character than our present Member, before he got into Power; our Author, in Consistency with his own Assertions, should have rather said, before our Member was removed from Power; for he does not so much as insinuate, that our Member ever abused Power, nor does he lay to his Charge any Misdemeanour, so long as he was in any Office attended with Power. I dare say, the Party will not thank our Author for this rash Admission, he might with as much Truth, as he has said several criminal Things of this Gentleman, and others, have affirmed, that he never had any Character, that he was always reputed a Fool, a Knave, a dirty Tool of a Minister, or some great Man, that his private Interest had been ever the sole Motive of all his Actions, and that he shifted Sides on the very Change of the political Weather: But our Author intends this former Character as a Compliment to us, and imagines, he will serve the Purposes of his Party as well, by saying with a seeming Kind of a Regrete, "But alas how changed, when private Interest came in Competition with the publick Good, P. 31."

Let us then examine this Gentleman's Conduct with strict Impartiality, and try if he is really changed, and if any of the Instances which the Author of the *Address* has brought against him, of Purpose to show, that he has of late preferred his own private Interest to the publick Good, ought to be admitted as true; or if on the contrary, they are not rather to be rejected as utterly false? the Gentleman hav-

ing, in all those Particulars, acted very honourably, with Integrity and Judgment.

It is certain, that this Gentleman's former Behaviour, in every publick Station, raised in us great Expectations, that he would make a good Figure in Parliament; that by his constant Attendance, and diligent Application to parliamentary Affairs, he would soon come to be an useful Member, a Character the more valuable, as it is but too rare; and that he would, upon every Occasion, so acquit himself, as to gain Reputation to himself, and reflect Honour upon us. In this we have not been disappointed; but it will not answer our Author's Purpose, unless he blacken every Step of his Behaviour in Parliament; he has even represented some of his Actions here, in which, we all know, he had the greatest Merit, as the greatest Crimes.

One would think this Author had been but lately listed in the Service of the Party, else he would not have confined the Demerit of our Member to his Behaviour in Parliament, he was no less obnoxious to the Party before the last Elections for Members, than now, as every Man of Consideration and Firmness, in this Gentleman's Situation, ever will be, neither his Friends nor his Enemies have had Reason to alter the Opinion, they both had, many Years ago, conceived of him; he was no less the Object of the Malice and Resentment of the Party upon the former Occasion, than he is at this Time; bitter Invectives, and defamatory Libels, like this *Address*, were publish'd to destroy his Character, in our Opinion, then as now; but we all knew then, as well as we may do now, that these malicious Calumnies, flowing from Party-rage and Disappointment, had no Foundation in Truth, and therefore

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therefore they made no Impressions, nor had any Influence upon us; for notwithstanding all the Art and Skill of the Party to deceive us, this Gentleman was our unanimous Choice, without any Solicitation on his Part. But to proceed with our Author's Libel.

The first is a general Charge, wherein are, in a Manner, blended, or mingled together, all the particular Articles, "That he soon made it appear, that in all Things, he would be subservient to the Designs of the M——ster; no Measure was ever proposed, tho' ever so absurd, but he assented to it —; that he would stick at nothing, to recommend himself effectually to a Place. &c." And all this he proves; How? By a notorious Falshood, already taken Notice of, that he has taken and accepted both of a *Place* and a *Pension*; — and to carry on the Diminution of his Character, adds, *Yea he attempted to speak.* — Here our Author would insinuate, that our Member attempted to speak, and failed, &c. How silly, as well as notoriously false, is this malicious Insinuation? Do we not all know, that this Gentleman spoke early, that he has spoke in several great Debates, upon Questions of the greatest Moment, and was always well heard with Attention, a certain Mark of Approbation; and that by his speaking and general good Behaviour, he soon procured the Esteem of Strangers, and the Character of a Man of Business?

Let us now see how this general Charge is supported, surely one might cordially assent to any Measure that was good in itself, altho' proposed by a M——ster; he will not say, that every Measure proposed by a M——ster is bad, nor is it

the worse, if it be good in itself, for being proposed by Persons acting in such a high Station, altho' those who oppose them like it the worse upon that Account : But how does it appear, that our Member assented to any Measure that was in itself bad or absurd.

It happens luckily for this Gentleman, (seeing our Author charges it as a Crime upon a Member, to be of the same Opinion in every Question with the M---rs) that he happened to differ with them in several Questions, which they laboured with all their Skill and Eloquence ; for our Member pretends to be acquainted with no other Influence, than what Reason and Truth ought to have upon the Minds of reasonable Beings ; and for any Thing yet appears, we have no Reason to suspect his Veracity.

In every Question that was moved in Favours of the Dissenters, (and I think such have been moved in three several Sessions of this very Parliament, and so oft vigorously opposed by the M—ry.) this Gentleman always differed from the M—ry ; in the Mortmain Bills too ; and in several other such Questions, that had a direct Tendency to extend, or to retrench the Clerical Power over the Laity ; this Gentleman always differed from the M—rs : But remarkable was his Appearance against the M—sters some Years ago in a Question of a National Concern, when the Manufactures of *Norfolk*, supported by the M—ry, laboured a Measure, which our Member apprehended would hurt the Linnen-Manufacture of our Country. In this he had the Assistance of the Manufacturers of Linnen and Cotton of *Lancashire*, and the Members of that and other Northern Counties ; and so great an
Opinion

Opinion had these Gentlemen then conceived of the Abilities and Knowledge of our Member, in those Matters, that concern the general Interest of *Great Britain*, with Regard to Trade and Manufactures, that the conducting of that great Question was chiefly laid upon him ; the Examination of the Facts upon which these Claims were severally founded, was managed in the Committee, to whom all the Petitions were referred, on the Part of *Norfolk*, by a M ——— ber of great Experience in Business, and on the other Side by our City-Member ; and it ought to be remembred to his Honour, that he acquitted himself with great Reputation to himself, and to the general Satisfaction of all concerned, and had also the good Fortune to prevail.

In the succeeding Session he was no less useful in the Prosecution of a Measure then proposed for encouraging the Linnen-Manufacture of *Scotland* and *Ireland*, by discontinuing the Draw-backs paid upon the Exportation of foreign Linnen to our *American* Plantations : This was vigorously opposed by the M ——— ry, who were joined by several great Bodies, whose Interests were likely to be hurt by this Measure, and it miscarried, as being premature ; but in the Issue our Member moved several strong Resolutions in Favour of the Linnen-Manufactures, which were agreed to.

Upon the Faith of these Resolutions, our Member prepared a Bill with great Care and Accuracy against the next Session, for encouraging one Branch of our Linnen-Manufacture, the Bleaching, by drawing back the Duties payable upon the Materials used in the bleaching of new Linnen-Cloth, whitened at our publick Bleaching-Fields, under

der the Inspection of the Trustees, &c. But this was not only opposed by the M---ry, but also by the Whitesters of the Counties of *Surry, Kent* and *Essex*, and by the Members of most of the cloathing Counties, as putting the Trade upon an unequal Footing : And it was not this Gentleman's Fault, that this Measure, so well intended for the Good of our Country, miscarried ; for he opened to the House the Usefulness, and the national Advantages of this Bill, with great Clearness and Strength of Reason ; the Pains this Gentleman took to render this Measure effectual, appear by a Paper of no less than 63 Pages in *Octavo*, which he publish'd and distributed amongst the Members, intituled, *Reasons for encouraging the Linnen-Manufactures of Scotland, and other Parts of Great Britain, humbly submitted to Parliament* ; as also another short Case, which was printed and distributed amongst the Members, whilst this Bill was depending in the House. Many more Instances of this Sort might be given, but these are sufficient to show the Falshood and the malicious Intention of this general Charge, which appears plainly to have no Foundation in Truth. And is not the Country in general greatly obliged to this Gentleman for the Extention of several useful Laws, which we owe to his Care and Attention alone ?

The next Article of Impeachment being, "That
 " our Member distinguisht himself, by an Opposi-
 " tion to the almost unanimous Voice of the Nation,
 " in the Con — on with *Spain*, that infamous
 " Treaty." After noticing the Author's Courage in giving such an Epithet to a Measure that had the Sanction of the whole Legislature. I will venture to say, that this Convention, which has been
 so

so much the Subject of Conversation, has been most decried by those who understand it the least, by those who take Things upon Trust, who are misled by the Authority and Influence of others, who had an Interest to condemn that Treaty, more out of Hatred to those who made it, than for any Thing that appeared amiss in itself; and shall acknowledge that I myself was carried down the Stream with the general Cry, to be in some Measure of our Author's Opinion, until I had Occasion to see two Letters written by this Gentleman to his Constituents on this Subject, One giving a pretty full, and a most distinct Account of the Debate, wherein he, with great Candour, stated the Arguments, used on both Sides, for and against the Convention; the Other was upon the Merits of the Question itself, as they appeared upon the Debate;

All I shall say for this Gentleman's Conduct in this Particular, is, That he certainly gave the Voice of his Conscience upon this Occasion, founded upon the best Information he could have; and this appears still more evident from the Speech he then made, as one, who attended the whole Debate, and who is a very good Judge, said, That few, who engaged in that Debate on either Side, spoke better, or gave stronger Reasons for their Opinion than he did, But

Our Author, to prove that this Treaty was infamous, says, *p.* 22. "That scarce a Vote but
 " Pensioner's, or such as have since been distinguished by a Place, or other Marks of ministerial
 " Favour appeared for it." And how does he make this appear? only by quoting a few Words of a
 Speech

Speech made in that Debate, by an honourable Gentleman of great Worth and Abilities, whose Death is certainly a national Loss, as he was a Person of great Endowments, especially in parliamentary Affairs; the Words, as our Author has them, are, "That without Doors he had never
 " conversed with, or heard of one Man, who
 " approved the Convention, and how it came to
 " be approved of within House, he could only
 " ascribe either to his own Want of Understanding, that could not find out one Argument in
 " its Favour, or to some secret Influence, which
 " in Time would prove worse to the Nation than
 " that very Convention, which now they are about to approve of." This Gentleman was a Person of great Veracity; and no Man can doubt of his having spoken his sincere Sentiments: But what then? Does not the World know, that he was then, and had been, ever since the happy Accession of the present Royal Family to the Throne, at the Head of the Opposition, that he had ever violently opposed the present Administration, and every publick Measure, since the happy Period I have mentioned; that his Conversation was mostly with Persons of his own Sentiments, who were in Concert with him, laying Schemes to distress the Administration, by blackening and traducing all their Measures; amongst such, it is most certain, he never could hear a Measure approved which they were before Hand determined to condemn: And had our Author had the Candour to have told us what was said in Answer to that Part of his Speech, he would not have brought this as an Argument against this Convention, that it was approved

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approved only by *Place-men* and *Pensioners*: When that honourable Gentleman was called upon to look round him, “ And if he did not see Members, yea a Majority of that House, who were “ Gentlemen of Birth and Fortune, and possess “ of every Thing that lays Men under the “ strongest Ties to support the Liberties of “ their Country, and the general Interests of “ the Nation, who differed from him in Opinion, “ and who were, nevertheless, in other Respects, “ equal to that Gentleman himself, barring his “ great Abilities;”—— In these he had indeed few Equals.— And it is a most notorious Truth, that never was in any House of Commons so much Property, and that too in the Hands of those whom our Author calls falsely Pensioners and Place-men; that there are likewise several Members of small Fortune, is no less certain: But Integrity is seldom measured by the Extent of one’s private Fortune.

Every unbiaſſed, and unprejudiced Person, is at Pains to inform himself in the best Manner he can, and according to the Light in which any Measure appears to him, he forms his Opinion of it: Our Member had the Opportunity of the best Information, he had Occasion to know all that was said for and against this Question; and if he happened to differ in Opinion from such of us as had our Information only at second Hand; and from these who possibly were prepossessed by Party-prejudice; Is this a Crime, or a Fault either in us or him, that we differ in Opinion? I verily believe, if we had all of us been as justly informed as our Member was, and had been left to ourselves, free from the Prejudice and Influence of Party, to form our own Judgments upon the real Me-

rits of this Question, there would have been very little Diversity of Opinion, if any at all amongst us.

The last Article of Charge, brought against our Member, as if he had been guilty of a criminal Behaviour towards his Country, or of a Neglect of his Duty to it in general, is, that he opposed the Place-Bill, as it is commonly called. This is indeed a Question of very great Importance, a constitutional Question that ought to be well weighed, and considered with Attention, a Question very little understood, and least of all by those Persons who, by their Fondness of it, seem to be very positive that they understand it the best: For my own Part, I own it is far beyond the Reach of my limited Knowledge and Forecast, my Understanding and Capacity is too narrow for me to enter upon it, whether such Civil-Constitutions, as ours is, where *Power* and *Influence* are blended together, and, as it were, shared betwixt the Crown and the People, where the legislative and the extensive Power of Government go Hand in Hand, are not, or have not been always reckoned the best and the most desirable; if the Influence, which the People and their Representatives now have upon the Crown in the Disposition of Offices of Trust and Profit, ought to be lessened, and the Crown and Ministers of State left more at large in this Respect? If further Limitations ought to be laid upon our Electors, to restrain them from chusing such Persons to represent them, as they think are most fit, and best qualified for that Trust? Or, if the Laws already provided, for securing the Freedom and Independency of Parliament, are not sufficient for that Purpose? If the Army (seeing by the uni-
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verfal Method of managing War by regular Troops, ſome Army leſs or more will be always neceſſary, both to ſecure us from foreign Invaſions and Inſults, and from popular Infurrection, popular Rage and Fury) ought not to be as it is, under the Direction of Perſons of Quality, Birth and Fortune, tied by numerous Relations of People of Condition, who have more to loſe, by the Loſs of Liberty, than they can gain by any Command a Prince can give them? Or, if the Crown ſhould be at Liberty to put it under the Direction of (better Officers perhaps but) Perſons of mean Birth and low Fortune, even Foreigners of no Degree, whoſe only Viſion and Hopes of Preferment depends upon an obſequious Compliance to Power? Whether thoſe who puſh this Bill are in earneſt to have it paſt into a Law, or if it is only meant to diſtreſs an Adminiſtration? And if by this, or any other Stratagem, they ſhould happen to get into the Poſſeſſion of Power, there would not be freſh Occaſions given for repenting of this Bill, if it ever paſſes? Theſe are Questions of too nice a Conſideration, either for me, or for our Author to determine.

I had once the good Fortune to be preſent when theſe, and a great many Questions of the like Nature, with Regard to this conſtitutional Point, were debated in Parliament: Till then, I thought, with our Author, that it was a Question eaſily to be reſolved; but thoſe (I find) who have conſidered it with Attention, are very doubtful, if ever this Bill ſhall paſs into a Law, whether it will not be more dangerous than uſeful to our Conſtitution. It has already been ſeveral Times debated in this very Parliament, upon the ſecond

rits of this Question, there would have been very little Diversity of Opinion, if any at all amongst us.

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versal Method of managing War by regular Troops, some Army less or more will be always necessary, both to secure us from foreign Invasions and Insults, and from popular Insurrection, popular Rage and Fury) ought not to be as it is, under the Direction of Persons of Quality, Birth and Fortune, tied by numerous Relations of People of Condition, who have more to lose, by the Loss of Liberty, than they can gain by any Command a Prince can give them? Or, if the Crown should be at Liberty to put it under the Direction of (better Officers perhaps but) Persons of mean Birth and low Fortune, even Foreigners of no Degree, whose only View and Hopes of Preferment depends upon an obsequious Compliance to Power? Whether those who push this Bill are in earnest to have it pass into a Law, or if it is only meant to distress an Administration? And if by this, or any other Stratagem, they should happen to get into the Possession of Power, there would not be fresh Occasions given for repenting of this Bill, if it ever passes? These are Questions of too nice a Consideration, either for me, or for our Author to determine.

I had once the good Fortune to be present when these, and a great many Questions of the like Nature, with Regard to this constitutional Point, were debated in Parliament: Till then, I thought, with our Author, that it was a Question easily to be resolved; but those (I find) who have considered it with Attention, are very doubtful, if ever this Bill shall pass into a Law, whether it will not be more dangerous than useful to our Constitution. It has already been several Times debated in this very Parliament, upon the second

reading of it, in the first Session of Parliament, into which it was brought, our Member spoke upon it, and gave such Reasons to support his Opinion, that the Bill appeared to be not only unnecessary, but also dangerous to our Constitution, as gave Satisfaction to many who heard him; the same Bill has been two several Times moved since, without the least Variation; and the same Arguments are as oft urged for and against it, so that our Member had no Occasion to speak upon it again; the Bill, with the Arguments brought to support it, being still the same, he found no Reason to alter his Sentiments of it; his Constituents were then well pleased with his Conduct in this Matter; and surely, if this Measure was dangerous to our Constitution, and unnecessary three or four Years ago, it must be so still. It would indeed appear strange, that so many of us (as our Author affirms to be for the Bill) should have changed their Opinions in this Matter, all of a sudden, did we not know the Methods that were used to bring about this Alteration of Sentiments amongst us, without any Alteration of Circumstances.

Many of us know the Gentleman, who moved these Instructions (so much applauded by our Author) in a Court of Hustings at *London*, and know his Motives too; we know likewise by what Canals these Instructions were transmitted hither; and we all know the Means that were used to influence us to give our Assent to them, not by informing us of the true State of the Case, and real Merits of the Question, but by inflaming us against those (who had perhaps with too much Strength of Reason)

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son) opposed this Measure, as dangerous to our Constitution.

Our Author admits, That our Member was left at Freedom in this Matter by his Constituents, and complains loudly of them upon that Account; but inveighs nevertheless most bitterly against him, because he knew (says he) the Sentiments of many amongst us to be for that Measure, whether these were really our own, or only the Sentiments of others adopted by us upon very slight Examination, it was not for his Purpose to enquire: But he accuses our Member as a Criminal, because he also did not adopt these Sentiments, and deliver them in particular as his own.

Does our Author by this intend to convince us of his Fitness to guide and direct us in these Matters, by showing his great Knowledge of the Nature of Parliaments and National Assemblies, which are composed of Deputies or Delegates sent from all the Corners of the Nation vested with full Power, to represent the particular Circumstances of all the Parts, that the whole may be known and understood by all, and who are called upon to hear Reason and Debate, and then to conclude and determine?

Freedom of Speech, that Information might be had from Debate, is essentially requisite in every free Parliament and National Assembly. To what Purpose would it be to reason or debate, if the Members were to receive no Benefit or Information from such Debate? Can the Sentiments of the People be collected, and the different Circumstances to every Part of the united Kingdom, be known and understood any other Way with so great Certainty as they must be, by the Speeches of their Representatives

tatives assembled in Parliament? And if not, how should any Resolution be formed with Judgment, for the general Good and Safety of the whole? Were the Members severally before-hand predetermined in their Opinions, by the Opinions of others formed upon partial Information (for it is impossible, without a general National Assembly, that they can be fully informed :) Could Members so fettered by the partial Opinions of others, be called Delegates vested with full Powers, or only Messengers sent to deliver the Opinions of others? Or could a Parliament thus composed be of any Use to the Nation? Would not the being so predetermined destroy the Freedom, the Use, and the very Being of Parliament? And yet our Author is pleased to charge our Member with a criminal Behaviour in Parliament, because he did his Duty in Parliament.

I have now gone through all the Articles charged by our Author upon this Gentleman that regarded his Duty to his Country in general; and it is submitted to you Fellow-Citizens and Neighbours, to consider whether he has, or has not in all these, and in every other Step of his Conduct in Parliament uniformly discharged his Duty to his Country, like an able Man, and an honest Man, like one who understands our present happy civil Constitution of Government; one who understands the Nature of Trade, Manufactures; and the general Interests of the Nation; and if he has not, upon all such Occasions, remarkably preferred the Interest of the Publick to his own private Concerns, and acquitted himself at all Times like an useful Member of Parliament.

We are next to consider the Charge exhibited against him, with Regard to his Duty to this City,

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City, and to us, upon Occasion of the Murder of Captain *Porteous*, and the unhappy Consequences of it; a Charge the more surprizing and monstrous, as it tends to traduce his Merit with us, in a Matter in which it was most conspicuous; and is yet too recent to be forgot.

He happened to be with our Magistrates when that Tumult made its first Appearance, and without Hesitation, he risked his Life to prevent the Mischief. At the Bar of the House of L—ds, he gave in his Evidence a full and distinct Account of that whole Affair; he placed it in its just and true Light, whereby the Conduct of the Magistrates and Citizens appeared to be very different from what it had been represented to be; but the greatest, the most discerning, and the most impartial Men are liable to Prejudice, when they take their Information from one Side only: This Gentleman was there considered as a Party, as one interested; and that Bill, in the terrible Shape in which it was brought in, past that House, and every Question upon it, was carried by a great Majority against us.

Our Conduct, with Regard to that unhappy Tragedy, had been grossly misrepresented by false Accounts transmitted to *London*, on Purpose to load our Magistrates with Guilt, and to lay the whole Blame upon the Citizens; and these were confirmed by the vague and uncertain Reports of common Fame: So strong Impressions had these made (I may say) upon the People of *England*, that Persons of all Ranks were prepossessed and prejudiced against us: And it was a very hard Task to bring Men thus prepossessed to a proper Temper; it was not so much as doubted, by those who promoted

moted this Bill, that it would have past the C ——— ns in the same manner, as it past the other House. In the Eyes of many, this Bill appeared to be a mild Measure ; such is the Force of Prejudice, when Men allow themselves to be carried away by partial Informations taken from one Side only.

Then as our Author says, “ It was justly expected, that our own Member would have distinguished himself, in some extraordinary Manner; “ in Defence of our Privileges :” We then stood much in Need of his Service ; I hope we shall never again have Occasion for such Service from him, or from any Man ; and happy was it for us, that we were not disappointed in our Expectations.

The Bill was no sooner delivered in at the Table by the Judges, and read a first Time, than he got up, and opened a great Variety of Matter, to vindicate the Innocence of our Citizens. To explain the Temper and Disposition of our Mobs, and their Motives, so very different from those of *England*, and to rouse the Attention of the House, to consider this Bill as a Measure of the greatest Consequence, as a Precedent dangerous to the Liberty of the Subject, whereby the Rights and Franchises of every City and Corporation of *Great Britain*, might upon very slight Occasions be affected, as well as those of *Edinburgh* ; In this our Member was not disappointed ; for by this Speech, this whole Affair was placed in a true Light, much different from what it had formerly appeared in ; it drew on a Debate, a Thing very uncommon upon a first reading ; and this we owe, in a great Measure, to an eminent Citizen * of great Abilities, who is remarkable

* Sir John Bernard.

markable for the Clearness of his Head, and the Quickness of his Parts ; he took it up in the Sense our Member designed it, as a Measure dangerous to Liberty ; that might lay a Precedent to subvert the Rights and Privileges of every Corporation of *Great Britain*, upon Occasions which the wisest and the most able Magistrates could not possibly prevent ; and yet our wise Author arraigns this very Speech, as contrived to reflect on a Sett of worthy Clergymen, &c. Had he been rightly informed of the whole Circumstances of that Matter ; had he known the Temper and Disposition that most Men were then in, from Misinformation and Prejudice, he would not have fallen into this Blunder: He would have found, that every Part of that Speech was necessary to gain the End, and the signal Service our Member designed to do us by it : And surely, by no Construction, consistent with common Sense, can the Reflection, which the Author of the *Address* speaks of, be any, but to those who acted the very Part our Member mentioned.

This partial Censure of our Author resembles a Maltreatment, which an Honourable Gentleman of great Worth and Abilities, once met with in a Debate ; one had taken such an unfair Liberty as this, to draw an Inference from a Part of what that Gentleman had said, without a complex View of the Whole ; if such Freedoms are allowed, (said he) “ Any Thing may be proved from every
 “ Thing ; for at this Rate, I could prove Blas-
 “ phemy and Atheism from the Bible : For In-
 “ stance, *The Fool hath said in his Heart, there is*
 “ *no God* : Now, (said he) take away what the
 “ Fool hath said, What remains ? — I marvel,
 that our Author who fancies, that he has so much

Skill in Rhetorick, as to pass White for Black, and Right for Wrong upon us, did not also pretend to prove, by this Speech, that our Member was the Court-Tool, the Prostitute to Power, who had no other View, in all his Actions, than to gain ministerial Favour, &c. which he represents him to be. Was ever stronger and bolder Things said, in Support of Liberty, than our Member said in this Speech?

But did our Member stop here? Did he not exert himself, with the same Zeal, throughout the whole Progress of this Bill? And did he not speak, and with great Force and Energy too, upon every Step as it went on?

The Examination and Cross-questioning of the Evidences, for and against this Bill, was, on the Part of the Crown, managed by two honourable Gentlemen of the Long-Robe, both very eminent in their Profession; and this Task, on the Share of the City, fell to the Share of our own Member alone. In this, which lasted several Days, he acquitted himself, much to his own Honour, and to our Satisfaction: And upon stating the whole Evidence to the House, it was the Opinion of many, that he had even the better of these eminent Lawiers; as he had indeed the Advantage of the justest Side of the Question. Neither was our Member's Labour for us, upon that Occasion, in vain, the justness of our Cause, and our Innocence, when properly represented in its true Light, wrought a wonderful Change in the Minds, even of those who had supported this Bill, who were at last made sensible, that we had been grossly abused, by an unfavourable and false Misrepresentation of our Conduct, so much, that they were fain to give up the

worst Parts of this Bill ; and with great Difficulty, it was carried through in the Shape it past in at last. In the Committee of the whole House (such an unexpected Turn did it take) the Voices were equal ; and had not two of our Members been necessarily absent, we had then got rid of it altogether : This ought to be a Warning to us, not to form our Opinions of Things, upon the vague and uncertain Reports of common Fame, which rarely speaks Truth ; every Thing of Moment ought to be examined with Coolness of Temper and Deliberation, and tried by the Touch-stone of Reason and Truth.

I should take up too much of your Time, if I were to take Notice of our Member's Conduct in every Step of this Matter in the Committees ; how he was often obliged to state the Evidence, in Opposition to those, who, to carry their Point, had stated it in the most unfavourable Light ; and how, by the uniform Account given of the whole, by all those who were adduced as Evidences for us ; and by comparing that Account with the Evidence given by a Stranger from the West of *England*, who happened to be with our Magistrates in the Time of the Tumult ; he made it plain, how little the contradictory and inconsistent Accounts, that were given by those base Inhabitants, who were adduced as Evidences for the Crown against us, were to be relied on.

Does our Author any Service to his Party, by representing this signal Service, which our present Member did us upon this Occasion, as a Crime ? Does he imagine, we can forget it so soon ? Do we not all know, that he did his best ? And that few could do better, very few so well.

After

After all this, our Author has the Assurance to bring another false Accusation against this Gentleman, p, 33. " That he assented to the Act for " bringing the Murderers of Captain *Porteous* to " Justice." If this is not a Lye of his own Forging, he has made it his own, by asserting it so roundly. Do we not know, that he not only opposed this Bill, but likewise spoke against it, at least against that Part of it, which we with Reason complained of ?

I have now taken up a great Deal of your Time in stating the Facts that are charged upon our Member by this Author as criminal ; and I am in your Judgment, whether I have stated them fairly and impartially or not ; Let us then, every one of us, lay his Hand to his Heart, and say, whether this Gentleman deserves well or ill of us ; whether he has done his Duty, like an able Man, and an honest Man, to his Country and this City, or not ? Whether he ought to be acquitted or condemned ? And whether he deserves our Censure, or our Thanks and Approbation ?

It were happy for us, since the Laws (it seems) are not sufficient to protect the Reputation and Characters of the Innocent, from foul Calumny and Defamation ; that we had the same Custom with us, which was establisht amongst the antient *Romans*, to try private Citizens for publick Crimes and Misdemeanours, by the People ; for then every one thus accused had the Opportunity of a fair Trial, because the People had Occasion to be fully and justly informed of the real Merits of the Question from both Sides ; and could not be abused or misled by Accusations thrown out at Random unsupported by Evidence, and propagated by one

Side

Side only; and the Accuser, if he fail'd in his Proof, was severely punished, as a Slanderer and Disturber of the publick Peace.

Remarkable was the Story of a publick Incendiary and Libeller of the Government at *Rome*, who, in her freest Times, made himself so popular, that as an extraordinary Licentiousness, (the greatest Foe that ever publick and just Liberty had in the World) sometimes forces a *State* to exercise extraordinary Powers; the *Roman* Senate found it absolutely necessary upon that Occasion to create a Dictator. This Slanderer (who had accused the chief Magistrates of imbezeling the publick Treasure, and other treasonable Crimes against the State, to render them thereby odious to the People, that he might master the State himself) was summoned by the Dictator, to make good his Charge before the People: But instead of Evidence, he shuffled in his Defence, made evasive Answers, and said the Magistrates themselves knew very well the Truth of what he had said. And as our Author appealed to Mr. L-----, for the Truth of several Facts, which he himself certainly knew to be false; so did this publick Incendiary appeal to the Magistrates themselves to prove the Crimes whereof he had accused them: But did this pass upon the People for Evidence? No; popular as he was, they then saw through the Disguise; he was condemned by the unanimous Voice of the People, seized and slain by the Dictator. But

Our Author pleads a Privilege for the criminal and indecent Freedoms he takes with the publick and private Characters, by representing whom he pleases to the People as publick Enemies and Traitors, from the Liberty of the Press, which he calls,

P. 51. The grand Paladium of British Liberty. In this I shall agree with him, and dare say, he will also agree with me, that this Liberty ought not to be unlimited; we may very well remember, when some of the Heads of his Party were in Power, how much it was restrained; and if ever they get into Power again, we may lay our Account with the same Treatment: But surely all Mankind must agree, that the Liberty of writing, speaking and publishing ought to be restrained within Bounds; for where such Liberty hath no Restraints, Government can have no Authority, nor consequently Existence, but must be actually abolished; as Liberty itself must be at the same Time, seeing Civil Liberty owes not only its Measure, but its Existence to Civil Restraints, which protect, as well as separate it from Licentiousness, that as surely destroys Liberty as it does Government; for it is Government alone that secures and defends Liberty.

Can any Man conceive a Government so framed, as that it can consist with allowing every Man a Power of saying what he pleases against it, and such as conduct it? No Government (for Example) can suffer its Subjects to run about the Streets, proclaiming their Governors Traitors, Tyrants and Usurpers, or even Fellons and Murderers; such Incendiaries, if they durst act as well as speak, would employ their Hands to destroy as well as they do their Tongues to defame, and to excite others to do so. He, who could allow himself to load his Governors with such grievous Epithets, would not scruple to make Attempts upon their Lives; he could not utter Speeches of such a Kind with any other Intent than to pave the Way to their

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their Destruction: These Latitudes then springing from extreme Licentiousness and Speech; Anarchy would be extremely dangerous; and surely such Kind of Speeches committed to writing, and assiduously handed about, could not but have the same Tendency; and consequently our Author, and all Men will admit, that speaking and writing must have some Bounds.

What these Bounds are, is indeed difficult to determine; I shall not take upon me to say, our Author has exceeded them; but I may venture to say, the Author of the Supplement to this Address has; I say not this from any Knowledge I have in Law, but because it is universally condemned, even by the greatest Zealots of the Party, who calls it a scurrulous Piece of unnecessary Ribaldry, blackening private Characters most falsely and unjustly to no Purpose.

I shall now beg Leave to conclude these Remarks as I began, by putting this Question, with humble Submission, Ought we not be wary and circumspect upon this Occasion? Does it not concern us much to be fully and rightly informed of the Truth, when so much Pains is taken to inflame us without Regard to Truth? Can we imagine, that all this is intended, that these defamatory Libels are publish'd and hawk'd about with so much Industry, with no other Intention than to destroy the Characters of a few private Men? Is this *tanti*? Is there nothing else at Bottom, *Latetne anguis in herba*? Had this Gentleman, who is pointed at, as the chief Object of the Malice of the Party, been a Person proud and imperious, of a haughty and overbearing Temper, insolent in Office; had he been one who abused Power,

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Power, or exercised publick Authority in Acts of private Injustice and Severity; had he been a bad Neighbour, a disagreeable Companion, or had he been unfair, or uneasy in his private Dealings, we might then have suspected, that all this might have flowed from private Malice, Pique and Resentment: But as this is the very reverse of his Character, the reproaching him with so much Virulence must flow from some other Source, from a deeper Spring; one who gives no Offence, rarely meets with any; a Person of this Gentleman's Temper and universal benevolent Disposition, is very seldom an Object of Malice, tho' he may be of Envy. I dare say, neither this Author, or any of the Party wish this Gentleman any personal Harm; they would not hurt him in his Mind, Body or Estate, if they imagined that their real Purposes could be answered any other Way: But so terrible and pernicious are all the Ways of Faction, that all private Friendship and Obligation are cancelled; yea, the strongest Ties of Gratitude have no Influence, in Competition with Party-measures. Thus,

The wicked *Triumvirate* at *Rome*, who severally aimed at the same Thing, to be Masters of the *State*, and to impose an arbitrary Tyranny upon a free People; those who agreed in nothing else, agreed in this, to give up to one another their own particular Friends, to take out of the Way every great and good Man, every true Patriot and Guardian of Publick Liberty, who was likely to oppose their ambitious Projects; in Consequence of this, the greatest and the best Men of *Rome*, the best Friends ever the Publick had, were delivered up as a Sacrifice to private Ambition.

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Thus the ancient, the venerable, the divine *Cicero*, was given up by the ungrateful *Octavius*, who owed his Power to *Cicero*, as a Sacrifice to the Resentment of *Anthony*, whose ambitious Designs had been formerly defeated, by this same *Cicero*.

Such have been, and such ever will be the bitter Fruits of Ambition, which are commonly in Proportion to its Object; and the Means, to accomplish its Ends, are always determined and measured by its Views. We have reason to be thankful, that our Party-designs are neither laid so deep, nor aim so high, as to overturn the State; altho' such Disputes, managed with too much Heat and Violence, may occasion a *State-Convulsion*; and that those who have always been profest Enemies to the present Government, and who design no less than its Subversion, interest themselves on the Part of the Opposition to it, with too much Keeness; But we hope Our Contentions terminate in a Competition for publick Employments, a Competition unavoidable in every free State, where (as a worthy Citizen, Sir *John Bernard*, observed in Parliament) the Appointments are high, and the Labour not worth the Money; whatever Pretence is made to amule and deceive the Vulgar, we hope a Change of Ministers only, and not a Change of Measures is intended; seeing a Change of these might be highly dangerous to the Nation at this Con-juncture, when we are engaged in a foreign War, which ought to heall all our Disputes and Divisions, and unite us in the common Cause of Liberty, our Duty to our Country, to ourselves and our Families; the Honour and Interest of the Nation calls upon us to unite amongst ourselves to

heall every Breach, that this necessary War may be carried on with Unanimity and Vigour, that we may convince *Spain*, that as we are her natural and best Ally, so we are, if provocked by Acts of Violence and Unjustice, her most terrible and most dangerous Enemy; let us convince *Spain* and all the World, that we only can protect her in *America*; and that we alone can distress her there: And if a greater Power should take Share in this War, let us never be dismayed or disheartned in the least, the sooner that happens, the better for us; let our Unanimity and Resolution increase in Proportion to the Danger; let us exert our Power by Sea, and we shall find ourselves a Match for both; and if this War comes to be general, we have powerful Allies to support us: In this Event, we may come to repair, by such a War, the National Loss which we suffered by the inglorious Treaty of *Utrecht*.

It is a Matter of little or no Consequence to us or to the Nation, who are, or who are not Ministers of State; providing every Office of publick Trust is filled with Persons of Abilities equal to the Trust. A Change of Ministry is a Thing of no Moment, when such a Change is made coolly, with Temper, Discretion and Fore-cast; but always dangerous, often fatally so, when effected by Violence, by Party-rage and popular Clamour, such as was that in 1710.

What is incumbent upon us is to be cautious and circumspect, that we be not deceived by fair and plausible Pretences; lest those who labour with so much Industry to perswade us, that we now are, and have long been in a State of Slavery and Dependance upon a great Man! a Thing

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we have often heard of, but which (Thanks be to GOD) we never felt; lest these should by such Arts mislead us into some rash and inconsiderate Measure, which may involve us in a State of real and direct Dependance, which we shall, perhaps, feel by its dire Effects, before we hear of it, or so much as suspect it.

Can these Men, who, like our Author, would interpret our sincere and well meant Acknowledgments to our greatest and best Benefactor, as a direct and implicate Promise of a Surrender of our Right of private Judgment, of our Rights and Privileges, in those Matters upon which our very Being, as free and independent Citizens depends? Can such Men (I say) mean to make us more free, and less independent than we now are, and ever have been? We shall make a very mean and contemptible Figure indeed, if we are no more to avail ourselves like Men of Sense, and Freemen, of our own Experience and Knowledge of Men in publick Matters that concern us so much; if we are no more to exercise these our valuable Rights and Privileges, by the free Use and Exercise of our own Judgement, the only Way that Freemen can exercise any Privilege, but are to follow blindly and implicitly the Opinions of others, and to take our Directions from them; if in our Choice of Members of Parliament, we are no more to chuse Persons of whose Fitness for the Trust, of whose Abilities for publick Business, we have certain Knowledge from Experience; but are to chuse Persons who are very little, if at all, known to us, Persons who never served in the Office of Magistracy, and such publick Stations, whereby we might have Occasion to know
from

from our own Observation, if they are properly qualified for a greater Trust; a Person (who for ought we know) has nothing else to recommend him, but a firm Attachment to some great Man, whose Interests and private Views may, upon some Occasions, differ widely from ours; would this be to act like Men, in a State of Freedom and Independancy? or not rather like the direct and immediate Dependants and Retainers of that great Man, who should thus direct our Choice?

Is it possible, that we shall be so very mean spirited, or rather so much infatuated, as to give up all those valuable Rights and Privileges, (as the unhappy *Danes* once did theirs) in a Pett? Shall we be so unjust to our Country, so unjust to ourselves, Families, and to Posterity, as the *Danes* were, to bring ourselves into a State of base, mean and servile Dependance upon the great Men, especially upon those great Men, who are possessors of great Estates in this Country, and who, by their constant Residence in and about *London*, have so much impoverished this Country, and drain'd it of Money?

The heaviest Article, in the Balance of Trade against us, is our Expence at *London*; for if we could balance our Trade with *London*, that great Centre of Commerce, we should not suffer by our Dealings with other Parts; but the Revenues arising from Land, which are annually remitted from this Country to *London*, amount to more than both the Malt and Land-Tax, when the Latter does not exceed Two Shillings in the Pound; And shall these great Men, who thus ruin our Country, also enslave its Inhabitants? If these shall vouchsafe to make us a Visit for a Month or two, once in six or seven

Years,

Years, shall they therefore direct us in the Choice of our Members, to represent whom? not themselves, who are hereditary Members of the Legislature, but us? Are not the Commons of *Great Britain*, the great Strength and Wealth of the Nation, also a free and independent Body, who ought to chuse their own Representatives free from Influence of any Kind? To take then in the least our Directions in our Choice from the great Peers, would be to alter the whole Frame of our happy Constitution with a Witness, the most dangerous Alteration that can happen: This would be to set up an absolute Aristocracy, the very worst of all Kinds of Government; to make us like the People in *Poland* or *Venice*, all Slaves to the Nobility.

Is there no other Qualification necessary in a Member of Parliament, than to be a staunch Party-man, to be for or against this or that Minister or Ministry? Shall we choose for our Representatives, Persons who (like too many) neglect their Duty in Parliament? who won't take the Trouble of attending constantly and regularly all the Meetings of Parliament, and all Committees of Parliament at all Hours, to watch, that nothing may pass without their Observation, but Members who may think it enough to attend only on great Days, upon great Debates, as they are called? Upon what? Upon Questions that are to determine only the Fate of a Minister, whether he is to stand or fall: Is this the only, or is this the chief Business of Parliament? Are these National Considerations, or are they not these of Party only?

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What was there in that Question, that made so much Noise about a Convention with *Spain*, more or less than this? Whether we should break with *Spain* that very Minute in the Month of *April*, and plunge the Nation directly into War, before any Provision was made for it, and thereby give *Spain* a Handle to complain of us, for breaking a Treaty? Or if we should not rather wait a few Months, to try whether *Spain* was in Earnest to agree to such Conditions as we insisted upon, as an absolute Security of our Trade, and the Freedom of our Navigation in the *American* Seas; and lay the labouring Oar upon them to break off the Treaty, and then to declare War, when we were in some better Condition to carry it on? Now tho' this was the Question, yet the Heat and Animosity with which it was managed on the Side of these in the Opposition, appeared plainly to be excited from their Spirit against the M — ry. If we could obtain a Censure of the Measure (said they) we should destroy the Authors of it. Thus are the real Interests of the Nation sometimes made subservient to private Views.

If no Man can determine with Truth and Certainty, whether a Place-bill will do more Good or Harm to our Constitution, then the Keennels which appears in those, who so earnestly press for it, I am afraid, proceeds upon their supposing, that if they can force a Measure upon a Ministry, they shall likewise force the Ministers out, and themselves into Power.

Many Things of great national Concern, want the Aid of Parliament, which cannot be effected without a constant and regular Attendance of the Members; such as the Improvement and Extension

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tion of our Linnen-Manufacture, by proper National Encouragements ; the securing to ourselves the Manufacture of all the Wool that is produced in *Great Britain* and *Ireland* ; the Encouragement of the smelting and making of Bar-Iron in our Northern Colonies of *America*, that we may in Time be capable to serve ourselves in that necessary Commodity, and not be always depending upon Foreigners for it, who charge it with what Duties they please ; to relieve our Sugar Islands from several Hardships they complain of ; to encourage the Planting of Vines, and making of Wine in *Virginia*, and others of our Colonies, whose Climates are fit for that Purpose ; to encourage the raising of Silk in *South-Carolina* and *Georgia*, and the like : Several such Questions of real National Concern have been under the Consideration of Parliament, and too often miscarried, for Want of a due Attendance of the Members ; but alas ! Party-questions seem to engross the Attentions of all Men ; these divert us from a regular Pursuit of our real Interests, and involve us in Disputes and Strife, which greatly obstruct them.

When such Points, as regard chiefly the standing or falling of a Ministry are to be debated, one may see the House full of Members, by Eight o' Clock in the Morning, and continue so till after Midnight, if the Debate lasts so long : But when Questions, which concern the real Interests of the Nation, are to be debated ; the House is rarely well assembled, before Two in the Afternoon, and with Difficulty are the Members kept together after Four. Are we then to choose our Members from a Consideration of their Zeal, for or against any Party, of their Attachments to one
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bet of Men, or their Aversions to another, who, in all Probability, will make little or no Conscience of their Duty to their Country, will surely attend these Debates, which concern Party-interests, however far they neglect those which concern the Interest of the Country? Or ought we not rather to send Persons to represent us, of whose constant and regular Attendance, we are certain from former Experience? Persons, of whose Abilities for publick Business, of whose real Usefulness, in all such National Debates, we have certain Knowledge from their former Behaviour? If we really act like Men, free and independant, governed by common Sense and Reason, as all free Men are; this is a Question easily to be determined.

Let us then, my dear Friends and Fellow-Citizens; act upon these Occasions of Elections, and upon all Occasions, like Men absolutely free and independant: And let us carefully watch and guard against all undue Influence of every Kind, especially the Influence of Corruption, of which there are many various Sources and Branches, perhaps more than can be easily perceived or enumerated.

Let us therefore examine our own Hearts, by a calm, strict and candid Enquiry, and follow the Dictates of our own Reason and Judgment only; and then we cannot fail to act like Men, that are really free and independent.

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